

## Message Text

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61-S

ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SS-15 NSC-05 SP-02 /035 W

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R 131749Z JUN 75

FM USMISSION GENEVA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 3740

INFO AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST

S E C R E T GENEVA 4489

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: CSCE, PFOR, XG

SUBJECT: CSCE: INCREASING ROMANIAN ANXIETY ON FOLLOW-UP

REF: (A) GENEVA 4408; (B) GENEVA 4419

1. IN LONG CONVERSATION WITH US DELEGATION MEMBER, ROMANIAN AMBASSADOR LIPATTI EXPRESSED HIS GROWING CONCERN OVER CONTINUING DEAD-LOCK AND VIRTUAL CESSATION OF NEGOTIATIONS ON FOLLOW-UP AS A RESULT OF "EXTREME RIGIDITY" OF FRANCE AND ONE OR TWO OTHER EC-NINE COUNTRIES.

2. LIPATTI EXPLAINED MORE EXPLICITLY THAN IN PREVIOUS CONVERATIONS THAT HE WAS UNDER PERSONAL INSTRUCTIONS FROM CEAUSESCU TO OBTAIN "SOME" FOLLOW-UP CONCESSIONS, PARTICULARLY WITH RESPECT TO A SUFFICIENT DEGREE OF CSCE CONTINUITY. FOR ROMANIA THIS WAS NOT A PROCEDURAL QUESTION, AS IT WAS FOR MOST OTHER COUNTRIES, BUT A QUESTION INVOLVING ITS REAL VITAL INTERESTS. IF PRESENT DEADLOCK PERSISTS, LIPATTI INFORMED US, WITH REQUEST THAT WE PASS IT ON TO WASHINGTON, ROMANIA MAY BE FORCED, ALBEIT MORE RELUCTANTLY, TO BLOCK STAGE II CONCLUSION UNTIL ITS MINIMUM FOLLOW-UP REQUIREMENTS ARE MET.

3. LIPATTI THEN ELABORATED "ON PURELY PERSONAL BASIS" AN IDEA WHICH HE THOUGHT MIGHT SOLVE ROMANIAN PROBLEM. HE EXPLAINED THAT HE COULD UNDERSTAND FRENCH RELUCTANCE TO ACCEPT A COMPLETELY "OPEN-ENDED" FOLLOW-UP. HE MIGHT

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THEREFORE STOP PRESSING FOR CONTINUITY IN PERPETUITY.

HE COULD, IF NECESSARY, EVEN ACCEPT THE MAIN OUTLINES OF DANISH PROPOSAL AS A BASIS FOR DISCUSSION. ON THE OTHER HAND, ROMANIA COULD NOT AGREE TO POSSIBILITY IMPLICIT IN DANISH PROPOSAL OF COMPLETE OR VIRTUAL TERMINATION OF CSCE PROCESS IN 1977.

4. ON THIS CENTRAL POINT LIPATTI THEN SUGGESTED THAT HE MIGHT BE ABLE TO GET BUCHAREST TO ACCEPT A FOLLOW-UP "PROGRAM" EXTENDING UNTIL 1980, AT WHICH TIME THE SITUATION COULD BE FULLY REVIEWED. MOREOVER, DURING THIS LIMITED FIVE-YEAR PROGRAM (1975-1980) THERE COULD BE AS FEW AS 4 OR 5 EXPERT GROUPS IN PROGRESS (A LOT LESS THEN THE 30-40 LIPATTI HAS BEEN PUBLICLY SPEAKING ABOUT). HOWEVER, THERE WOULD HAVE TO BE ONE MEETING OF OFFICIALS -- OF SENIOR OR LESS SENIOR LEVEL -- PER YEAR TO ASSESS THE SITUATION AND TO REVIEW PROGRESS ON CSCE AND WORKING GROUP IMPLEMENTATION. LIPATTI EMPHASIZED THAT NONE OF THIS WOULD INVOLVE A SECRETARIAT OR A PERMANENT ORGANIZATION, AND THAT THE PURPOSE OF REQUESTING ANNUAL MEETINGS OF SOME SORT WAS ONLY TO ASSURE THE CONTINUING EXISTENCE OF A MULTILATERAL EUROPEAN "CLUB" TO WHICH ROMANIA COULD HAVE RECOURSE IN CASE OF NEED.

4. WE REPLIED CAREFULLY THAT WE WOULD OF COURSE PASS THESE THOUGHTS ON TO WASHINGTON, AND WOULD CERTAINLY STUDY ATTENTIVELY ANY AMENDMENTS WHICH ROMANIA MIGHT DECIDE TO OFFER TO THIS EFFECT, PARTICULARLY IF ROMANIA COULD ACCEPT THE DANISH PROPOSAL AS A BASIS FOR DISCUSSION.

5. COMMENT: THE GROWING ROMANIAN CONCERN ILLUSTRATES THE FRUSTRATIONS BEING DEVELOPED HERE BY THE VIRTUALLY COMPLETE CESSATION OF ANY FORMAL FOLLOW-UP NEGOTIATIONS IN THE BASKET IV WORKING GROUP IN RECENT WEEKS. LIPATTI'S APPROACH TO US REINFORCES OUR VIEW (REF B) THAT SOME NEW FLEXIBILITY ON THE PART OF THE EC-NINE IS URGENTLY NEEDED -- AT LEAST TO THE EXTENT OF CONSIDERING ANY REASONABLE AMENDMENTS TO EC-NINE TEXT. DALE

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NOTE BY OC/T: DISSEMINATION COORDINATED WITH S/S-O  
6/13/75.

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## Message Attributes

**Automatic Decaptioning:** X  
**Capture Date:** 01 JAN 1994  
**Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Current Classification:** UNCLASSIFIED  
**Concepts:** DIPLOMATIC DISCUSSIONS  
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**Copy:** SINGLE  
**Draft Date:** 13 JUN 1975  
**Decaption Date:** 01 JAN 1960  
**Decaption Note:**  
**Disposition Action:** RELEASED  
**Disposition Approved on Date:**  
**Disposition Authority:** KelleyW0  
**Disposition Case Number:** n/a  
**Disposition Comment:** 25 YEAR REVIEW  
**Disposition Date:** 28 MAY 2004  
**Disposition Event:**  
**Disposition History:** n/a  
**Disposition Reason:**  
**Disposition Remarks:**  
**Document Number:** 1975GENEVA04489  
**Document Source:** CORE  
**Document Unique ID:** 00  
**Drafter:** n/a  
**Enclosure:** n/a  
**Executive Order:** GS  
**Errors:** N/A  
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**Office:** ACTION EUR  
**Original Classification:** SECRET  
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**Page Count:** 2  
**Previous Channel Indicators:** n/a  
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**Previous Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Reference:** 75 GENEVA 4408, 75 GENEVA 4419  
**Review Action:** RELEASED, APPROVED  
**Review Authority:** KelleyW0  
**Review Comment:** n/a  
**Review Content Flags:**  
**Review Date:** 11 JUN 2003  
**Review Event:**  
**Review Exemptions:** n/a  
**Review History:** RELEASED <11 JUN 2003 by BoyleJA>; APPROVED <22 OCT 2003 by KelleyW0>  
**Review Markings:**

Margaret P. Grafeld  
Declassified/Released  
US Department of State  
EO Systematic Review  
06 JUL 2006

**Review Media Identifier:**  
**Review Referrals:** n/a  
**Review Release Date:** n/a  
**Review Release Event:** n/a  
**Review Transfer Date:**  
**Review Withdrawn Fields:** n/a  
**Secure:** OPEN  
**Status:** NATIVE  
**Subject:** CSCE: INCREASING ROMANIAN ANXIETY ON FOLLOW-UP  
**TAGS:** PFOR, XG, CSCE, (CEAUSESCU, NICHOLAE)  
**To:** STATE  
**Type:** TE  
**Markings:** Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 06 JUL 2006